SHOP FOR XMAS NOW THROUGH THE GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE . . . See p. 12

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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POLITICS

An election analysis: No shift in policy

By James Aronson

WHEN THE VOTE WAS ALL IN, the editorial comment in the nation's press sounded like one vast sigh of relief that the damage had been no worse than it was. But the relief was mixed with confoundment over what the voters did not do. Here are samples:

N. Y. Times: "There was no great triumph for either party."

Washington **Post**: "There has been no calamity for moderate government."

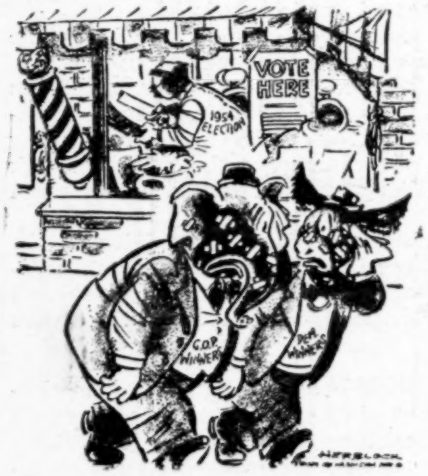
Cleveland **Plain Dealer**: "The people did not speak with any unmistakable majority on any great issue."

Milwaukee **Sentinel**: "There was no stampede to either column."

Los Angeles **Daily News**: "The people are not at all interested in the political fate of the two parties. . . ."

The people in fact did these things:

- Gave the Democrats a majority in the U. S. Senate and House.
- Took eight governorships away from the Republicans.



Herblock in Washington Post
"Close man with a razor, isn't he?"

- Failed to turn out to vote; the percentage was the smallest ever in ratio to the number eligible.

LONGING FOR CHOICE: But there were no startlingly clear conclusions to be drawn except that the mood was one of frustration: the people were longing for a chance to vote **for** something; when they had a reasonably clear-cut choice in an unpolluted atmosphere, they generally chose with good sense.

This was the new line-up in Congress and in the state capitals:

THE HOUSE

	New	Old
Democrats	232	215
Republicans	203	219
Independent		1

THE SENATE

	New	Old
Democrats	48	46
Republicans	47	49
Independent	1	1

GOVERNORSHIPS

	New	Old
Democrats	27	19
Republicans	21	29

THE INGREDIENTS: The result showed an almost equal vote for each party. An outstanding factor that favored the Democrats was unemployment in key industrial areas. In farm areas, the Republicans lost votes but did better than they expected. The "peace and prosperity" slogan of the Republicans seemed to help them more than the red bogey flaunted by Vice President Nixon, who emerged from the campaign with the unflattering title of "Tricky Dicky."

For reports on election results in key states, see p. 4.

Some Democrats tagged as "left-wingers" were defeated, as were Republicans labeled "diehard reactionaries." In the case of the former the defeat was caused by concentrated money and high-powered publicity; in the latter, by a marked unity of organized labor. In most cases, however, "liberal" Democrats and "moderate" Republicans won.

James Reston, N. Y. **Times** Washington correspondent, commented (9/7):

"The Democrats gained, but not much. It was an even struggle, leaving the parties in a healthy state of

(Continued on Page 4)

UNICEF
for all the world's children
UNITED NATIONS

United Nations photo
DANNY KAYE AND 3-YEAR-OLD FRIEND
Children are unpolitical

UN is unanimous — on program for kids

By Kumar Goshal

UN correspondents on Nov. 5 were treated to an account of the kind of constructive work UN can successfully undertake—by comedian Danny Kaye. As UN ambassador-at-large representing the Intl. Children's Emergency Fund, Kaye spent last summer in S. E. Asia, making a film of UNICEF's fight against tuberculosis, malaria and other poverty-bred illnesses. He said he was welcome everywhere: "kids are non-political," and UNICEF was one organization UN members have unanimously agreed to continue. Asked if the children knew who was helping them, Kaye said they didn't, and it was irrelevant.

At the current session's half-way mark, the UNICEF spirit was not often visible on other levels. There was progress on disarmament, but strong disagreements continued over most issues.

BURMA & CHIANG: Still plagued by Kuomintang troops on Burmese soil "plundering and pillaging and making a good thing out of the opium trade," Burma disagreed with the U.S. statement that the evacuation of some troops by Chiang Kai-shek had brought the situation to manageable proportions. Branding it as aggression, Burma demanded collective action against Chiang, whose UN representative disavowed any further responsibility. The UN condemned the troops' actions, but recommended no effective steps.

SOUTH AFRICA: With open or tacit support of the colonial powers, S. Africa continued to insist that its discrimination against Africans, Indians and Pakistanis, and its UN-flouting grab of formerly mandated S. W. Africa, were domestic affairs beyond UN

(Continued on Page 6)

Arsonists in Liberty's cradle

WHEN Otis A. Hood and five others were arrested last spring by District Atty. Garrett Byrne in Roxbury, Mass., under an Anti-Anarchy law of 1919, some 600 books were seized from Hood's home. The books, which include works by Marx, Engels, Jefferson, Washington, Frederick Douglass, Paine and Franklin D. Roosevelt, have since been locked in a jail cell. Byrne sought to destroy them as "subversive." On Nov. 1 Loring B. Young, Republican former member of the Massachusetts General Court and for four years speaker of the Legislature, appeared before District Court Judge Edward Gourian to plead that the books be spared.

Calling the seizure "plain larceny," Young recalled the Dred Scott decision in describing today's witch-hunt hysteria which he said must be halted before books were burned. Co-counsel Gabriel Kantrovitz said there was no modern precedent for book-burning other than in Hitler's Germany. He quoted Eisenhower's speech at Dartmouth College: "Don't join the book-burners."

"COULD ADVOCATE SOMETHING": Referring to the argument that books "could be used" to advocate something, Kantrovitz denounced what he called "guilt by anticipation." He pointed out that even in the Smith Act cases the authorities did not clear off the defendants' bookshelves and raid bookstores and publishing houses.

Byrne sent to the hearing to defend his action Police Sergt. Howland who conducted the raid. At one point Howland, on the defensive, remarked: "Of course, I'm not a lawyer." The judge reserved a decision.

The trial of the books was well attended by local defenders of civil liberties, clergymen, educators and workers. Protests against the attempt to begin book-burnings in Massachusetts were mobilized by the Mass. Committee for the Bill of Rights (169 Massachusetts Av., Boston).

THIS ISSUE

Battle of Britain —will Bevan win?
Page 7

Russia, the atom and the vision of plenty
Page 3

Guatemala: last week of a dying republic
Page 7

The Spectator recalls a meeting with Ivan
Page 3

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THE MAIL BAG

God and the Legion

WASHINGTON, KANS.

The new slogan of the American Legion, "For God and Country," is appearing on the car windshields of Legionnaires and elsewhere. It has always been the bent of super-patriotic organizations to associate their activities with God in order to appeal to those who are religiously inclined. Even Hitler often brought in the name of God in his rantings.

There is no doubt that many Legionnaires are religiously devoted to the policies of their organization, but considering what those policies are a more fitting slogan would be "For McCarthy and Hell."

Ernest B. Benne

Well-read in Paris

PARIS, FRANCE

The GUARDIAN is precious to us in Paris and each copy is well-worn after being read cover to cover by a half-dozen people! Keep up the courageous fight.

B. Brickman

How crazy can you get dept.

The top man in the U. S. Chamber of Commerce . . . Clem B. Johnston, president of the chamber, a Roanoke, Va., farmer, said the, rise in business casualties will result from ever-fiercer competition. Failures, he added, are "in no sense an indication of disaster." They are, he continued, "a symptom of health—a sign that we are returning to normal."

—N. Y. Times, Oct. 30.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Harry Fries, New York City.

OK in UK, KO in US

DETROIT, MICH.

In August the chairman of the Society for Friendship with Bulgaria in London, Edgar P. Young, offered to lend us here a 16-mm. film *The Song of a Man*, about Bulgarian poet and anti-fascist hero Nikola Vaptsaroff, who was executed in 1942 for his writings and devotion in the struggle against Bulgarian fascism and Nazi occupation. The film arrived Sept. 3. When I applied at the U. S. Customs here for its release, I was asked if I was going to pay duty. I said the film had been loaned to me and I didn't think I would have to pay duty. The officer then said I had to apply for release of the film through a Custom House broker, which I did. I paid to a broker a $15 fee and posted a $52 bond.

The film has still not been delivered to me as I was promised by the Customs officers and the broker. One Customs officer told me it had been taken for inspection and advised me to contact the broker and tell him I want the film. The broker said U. S. Customs had seized it and was awaiting word from Washington Internal Revenue as to what to do.

I wonder who is sitting on the film and deciding what we are supposed to see and hear? I have not seen it to pass judgment on whether it endangers the liberty of this great nation. I believe that Americans of Bulgarian descent after they see the film, which they are supposed to have the right to do, could draw their own conclusions.

Bocho Mircheff
Bus. Manager, Narodna Volya

(From London, Comdr. Young writes: "The film was passed by the British Film Censor Board with a 'U' certificate authorizing its showing to any audience without any cuts. What can be done to help Mr. Mircheff get hold of it? The matter is surely of some importance because of the precedent which may be established." Ed.)

Partial pregnancy

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Your review of Shirer's book, *Stranger Come Home*, appears within days after I have finished reading the book. His greatest offense which you so profoundly point out is his intentional capitulation to the current fable that only Communists are under scrutiny and if he smells smoke it is because there is smoke.

The book is the latest apology for the doctrine of "partial pregnancy"; and while it has no integrity whatever, it serves a useful purpose of showing progressive people that their real enemies—if not their most effective enemies—are the liberals who buy their own temporary safety by betrayal of their friends and neighbors.

Willaim B. Esterman

Can you beat it?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I nominate this, from a Winston Publishers ad in the N. Y. *Times Book Review* (10/24), for the How Candid Can You Get Dept.:

". . This [the author] is Guido Orlando, who helped beat the Commies in Italy in 1948. Read all about him in *Confessions of a Scoundrel*."

Aufy

Please omit flowers

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

Please send me *Seeds of Destruction*, by Cedric Belfrage. The surplus in the check is a contribution from myself and from a friend who was visiting us. It was the occasion of the funeral of a mutual friend, whose suicide we think was one more casualty in the cold war.

This friend is a socialist and considered that the money which ordinarily goes for flowers at a funeral can better be used to fight the good fight and help prevent more casualties resulting from the drive for fascism and war (and bigger profits).

Carl B. Waters

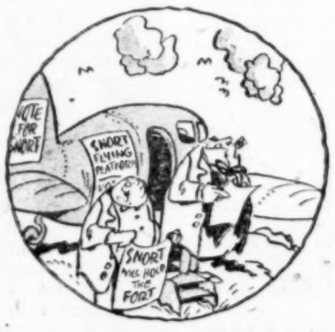
Manhattan's book

BLOOMINGTON, IND.

With regard to the letter of Ray S. Kellogg (10/18) regarding Avro Manhattan's *Catholic Imperialism and World Power*, I suggest that the GUARDIAN explore ways by which the book can be obtained by residents of the U. S.

J. R. L.

Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (1633 Massachusetts Av. N. W., Washington 6, D. C.), has Manhattan's books and others in a lending library for local use. A letter to POAU may disclose where the book can be purchased. Ed.



The Field Enterprises, Inc.

"Not a soul in sight, Senator! . . . Could be they're using a new radar warning system. . . ."

Solidarity in Peru

LIMA, PERU

Enclosed $8, for arrears and sub renewal to the indispensable GUARDIAN. It is a big amount of money for us poor Peruvian **Cholos** who need more or less 20 soles to buy $1. (That is the result of what the diplomats call the mutual interest in development of both countries).

Some days ago I asked the **Federacion de Periodistas del Peru** to send a wire of solidarity with Belfrage, and another calling the American authorities to persevere in the tradition of respect to the press. The arguments of the government are just the same as those used by Peron against Gainza Paz and by every dictator against free journalists. The F. P. P. has always been for the journalists and against the dictators.

Alfredo Matthews

Dream world, good-bye

OAKLAND, CALIF.

For a very long time you have been carrying my minimum social conscience along—since December, 1952, in fact. At this point, when I have in the bank $20 and out of the bank nothing but bills, bills—for milk, for everything; at this point, I will divide the 20 and send you half.

Don't misunderstand me. My family is not about to starve. I hold one full-time and one part-time job. What has happened is that I have been living in a nice, safe, unrealistic, middle-class dream world. Finally, I lost a teaching position—not for any grand political reason, but simply because the school wished me to consider myself a custodian of children rather than a friend and faltering guide.

So I come to see myself in a clear light, to gain some respect for myself as a member of the community, of my own family and of the world; yet not as one who wishes to destroy anyone's else's dream world. As for going out to be your apostle, I am not fully equipped for this. I have not been able to sell my own family on the GUARDIAN, and until they respect my judgement it would be hot air elsewhere.

B. S.

We're delighted

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Looking ahead to next Feb. 6 to 12 when the Boy Scouts of America will observe its 45th anniversary with its membership at an all-time high total estimated at 3,660,000 boys and adult leaders, we invite your magazine to help us observe this milestone.

The principal activity of our 95,000 Units has been working on a down-to-earth National Conservation Good Turn at the request of President Eisenhower, who said: "I believe that it would be particularly fitting if the Boy Scouts would undertake by concerted action to arouse public recognition of the need for adequate protection and wise management of our soil, water, mineral, forest, grassland, and wildlife resources."

Your friendly interest in Scouting over the years is deeply appreciated.

Leslie C. Stratton
Natl. Director of Public Relations
Boy Scouts of America

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Vol. 7, No. 4 178 NOVEMBER 15, 1954

"If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

REPORT TO READERS

Clear objectives

THE OBJECTIVES sought by thinking voters in the 1954 elections are as clear as they have ever been.

- Peace has won all public opinion polls since the start of the Korean War;
- Wage-earners demand employment;
- The man who feeds them all, the farmer, knows he must be maintained at parity with the rest of society;
- The Negro people especially, and other minorities as well, have never been more alert to their right to representation and total equality at every level of our life;
- All people, everywhere, treasure the right to speak their own minds (even though not all treasure this right for everyone else).

Whether the past elections indicate mandates in the direction of these objectives in 1954—and how such mandates may be ultimately made decisive—is the main subject to which the GUARDIAN will address itself in the weeks and months ahead.

ONE FACT WE KNOW NOW is that the American electorate has seldom entered upon a national election with less information on the real alternatives available to it.

That information has been historically supplied by independent political movements; in the campaigns just past, independence in American politics has hit its lowest point in 20 years. In California and New York, where vigorous IPP and ALP statewide campaigns were waged, the resulting access to radio and television (usually at enormous expense) proved a means of circumventing a total blackout in the press. The rest was silence.

THE GUARDIAN has been built and maintained by its readers—by you, of course—for the purpose of digging out and distributing the kind of information required for intelligent political decisions, both at election time and throughout the year.

But not a sufficient job has been done—by you or by us—to insure that this information reaches to any great extent beyond our own present numbers.

Peace and progress will not be won by guess and by golly, but only by an informed and constantly alerted electorate.

Within a few days, you will be hearing from us by mail. We want to re-enlist your readership and support for 1955; and we want you to make this holiday season count for all of us, by introducing the GUARDIAN to the people with whom you regularly exchange gifts and remembrances. Let's start now, winning friends and proponents for peace and progress in '55.

—THE EDITORS

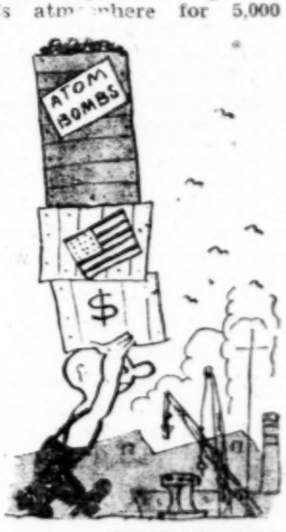
AN EAST-WEST SURVEY ON THE U. S. S. R.'S 37TH ANNIVERSARY

The challenge of socialism in the atomic age

By Tabitha Petran

sian revolution, thoughtful Westerners were considering the period ahead in light of socialist-world achievements whose challenge could no longer be concealed. In one way or another the growing challenge was reflected in Washington's atom-pool plan, presented to UN last week; in the increasingly open U.S. intervention in colonial and semi-colonial countries (detailed in current **Saturday Evening Post** articles on operations of the Central Intelligence Agency); and in conflicts here over military strategy and atomic energy.

For Americans, it is the Soviet H-bomb—the realization that the U.S.S.R. has reached equality with the U.S. in capacity to wage nuclear war—that has dramatized Soviet scientific achievement. This overwhelming fact sinks in just as U.S. scientists are warning that the danger from radiological fall-out of H-bombs, and of nuclear explosions' cumulative effects, are being "willfully minimized" (**New Republic, 11/8**). (In the current **Bulletin of Atomic Scientists** Dr. Ralph E. Lapp shows that the H-bomb is in effect a two-stage weapon whose heat and blast destroy buildings within 14 miles and whose radioactive fall-out has a serious-to-lethal range of up to 4,000 sq. miles.)



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Second instalment of U. S. economic aid coming up."

Admitting that an "undue" number of nuclear explosions might affect the earth's atmosphere for 5,000 years, Prime Minister Churchill rejected a Labour proposal that he intervene with Washington and Moscow to suspend further explosions pending the outcome of UN disarmament negotiations. But the demand to halt test explosions, expressed in India's resolution before the UN disarmament subcommittee, and for renunciation of "first use" of such weapons, is making itself felt even on U.S. opinion. Ernest K. Lindley (**Newsweek, 11/8**) pointed out that Soviet progress

> ". . . creates a new situation, requiring a new look at our military planning and at proposals to curb the atomic race . . . the old arguments against them are showing signs of diplomatic obsolescence."

"RUDE SHOCKS" FOR U.S.: On the level of peaceful uses of atomic energy, the **Christian Science Monitor** (10/13) said "the best-qualified European observers have credited the Soviet Union with holding the lead" in its industrial application. U.S. atom specialists, at a recent briefing of American investors, held that the U.S.S.R. may already have a 100% regenerative reactor (which would create more fissionable material than is burned up in heat). This is "still the $64 question for Western nuclear engineers" (**CSM, 10/9**). Soviet engineers claim to have built prototypes of atomic motors for sea, air and rail transport, and are reported experimenting on direct conversion of nuclear into electric energy. A Soviet atom-power plant is already in operation; the West will not have one for two to three years.

Taking a new look at the socialist world, U.S. specialists point to the "shocking illiteracy" (John K. Norton, Columbia Teachers College) and "shortages" of scientists, teachers and engineers in the U.S., in contrast with the phenomenal expansion of Soviet secondary and higher education (Dr. Nicholas De Witt, Harvard's Russian Research Center). The **Wall St. Journal** (11/3) said:

> "Rude shocks lie ahead for Americans who believe their technology is defeating communism . . . in several areas the U.S. is being overtaken by a supposedly backward country—Russia. One startling fact is that the Soviet is outproducing America in a key element of technological progress—the trained men to carry it on."

THE SPURT & THE LAG: In an overall survey of scientific, technical and engineering education in the capitalist and socialist worlds, Benjamin Fine (**N.Y. Times, 11/7**) found "a tremendous spurt" in the latter while the former is lagging. The U.S.S.R. is graduating 2½ times as many engineers each year as the U.S.; has 175 technical schools with 300,000 engineering students compared to 150,000 such students in the U.S.; and 3,700 intermediate technical schools with 1.6 million students compared to 1,000 similar U.S. schools with 50,000 students. A similar situation exists in training of scientists and Ph.D's. Fine found a direct "linkage" between the Soviet educational program and the "extensive" similar programs of Eastern Europe and China; cited numerous U.S. authorities who hold that the quality of Soviet education is at least equal to that of the U.S.

Western attempts to tie socialist scientific and educational advance to the arms race are refuted by Western sources. Two Southern Democratic Congressmen—Battle (Ala.), author of the ban on East-West trade, and Fisher (Tex.)—recently returned from the U.S.S.R. with prejudices intact but impressed by "the great deal of attention . . . given to the education and welfare of children from the cradle on up to maturity" (**U.S. News, 11/5**). British Tory Lord Coleraine was struck by the

> ". . . great concentration on the health and education of children . . . part of the curious Russian confidence in what's ahead of them, [and by the] stimulation of cultural activity. Museums and such could even be regarded as substitutes for household comforts."

THE SHRUNKEN POOL: It was against this background that the U.S.'s Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. outlined the U.S. atom plan, first projected by President Eisenhower last December, to the UN's Political Committee on Nov. 5. The idea of an atomic pool, which won world headlines then, has now been dropped. So has the plan for an international agency "under the aegis" of UN; it is to be "created by negotiations among interested governments" and thereafter establish a link to UN. Lodge said "these negotiating matters" were the business of the countries concerned, in effect giving "a polite but firm 'hands off'" warning to UN (**CSM, 11/5**). Much of the program is to be carried on outside the agency. The U.S. will negotiate bilateral agreements with recipient countries for training of students, engineers, scientists, physicians, for grants of nuclear fuel, sharing of secret information. The U.S., Britain and Canada emphasized that atomic power is a long way off.

The UN reaction was one of disillusion. Washington (which, in the view of Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, has grossly neglected atomic power development), had already thrown "a pitcher of cold water on the hopes of underdeveloped countries for quick atom-based prosperity" (**Business Week, 10/30**). A recent confidential government study concluded that small nuclear-packaged-power plants would not be competitive even with high-cost diesel units anywhere in the Middle East, most of South Asia and Latin America. **BW** said technical considerations were only one factor in "Washington's wet blanket policy"; so long as there is a cold war, Congress will not 'OK a wide share-out of atomic knowledge, let alone vote funds to finance large nuclear power development abroad." **BW** found

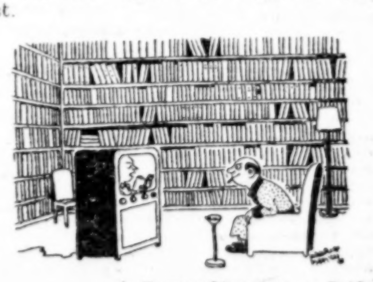
> ". . . irony in all this. Nations where the struggle for progress is sharpest, where Communism may appeal, where nuclear power might indeed make deserts bloom, seem least able to use it effectively."

TWO "POINT 4's": Yet socialist states can afford, "in contrast to capitalist countries . . . to tackle the utilization of atomic energy as a source of electric power without concern for the capital invested in conventional power generation" (**CSM, 10/13**). They can also afford to aid the industrialization of backward countries without regard to the super-profits demanded by private corporations of the West. A recent meeting in Prague of Soviet, E. European and Chinese atomic scientists, attended also by Indian and Indonesian scientists, discussed the development of industrial uses of the atom. To several countries the U.S.S.R. has already held out "the prospect of engineering assistance with atomic developments" (**CSM, 10/13**)—in line with

> "a new Soviet challenge to the West [which] has emerged during the last few weeks . . . a Soviet Point 4 program . . . offering to make major contributions to the industrialization of non-Communist under-developed nations particularly in Asia" (**NYT, 11/7**).

The pace of socialist-world industrialization has already exerted a strong pull on colonial and semi-colonial countries; it will be accelerated with socialist participation in their industrialization. Yet Washington, while diluting its atom plan and offering a negligible Point 4 program, sharpens its intervention to uphold the old order where peoples are struggling for a better life. The **SEP** articles on "The Mysterious Doings of the CIA" (apparently an effort to counter McCarthy's attack on the agency) boast of CIA's role in overthrowing the Mossadegh government in Iran, the Farouk regime in Egypt, the Arbenz government in Guatemala—and in sabotage, wrecking and espionage efforts throughout the socialist world.

There is small likelihood that such efforts can halt the advance of socialism—or even slow its accelerating impact on the minds of men in the West.



France-Observateur, Paris

The height of progress

The hairline between war and peace

In a copyrighted article by Chalmers Roberts, the Washington **Post** (11/8) reported that Secy. Dulles and three of the four Joint Chiefs (the Army's Ridgway dissenting) in early September advocated U.S. air attacks on China to prevent a Chinese landing on Quemoy island (5 miles from the mainland, still held by Chiang). Such an action might well have led to world atomic war. The President, said Roberts, vetoed the proposal at the extraordinary Cabinet session in Denver, Sept. 12. He was influenced by the "strong dissent" of then Undersecy. of State Bedell Smith, who sided with Ridgway. Smith has now been replaced by Herbert Hoover Jr.; Ridgway, according to Washington columnists, will not be reappointed when his two-year term ends next August.

The explosive Far East situation was underscored by the shooting down (11/8) of a U.S. "photo-reconnaissance" plane by Soviet MIG's when it was near or over the Soviet Kurile Islands (and refused to turn back, said the U.S.S.R.). **NYT's** Hanson Baldwin, referring to a similar earlier incident, admitted (9/14) "the missions of these planes might be termed an espionage one as distinct from routine and continuous reconnaissance. . . ." Washington reacted belligerently: Dulles threatened to send out such planes hereafter with fighter escorts.

'Engrossing . . .' says Howard Fast

"Seeds of Destruction"

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"In SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION Cedric Belfrage has written a valuable and engrossing book. In these bitter days, when we witness a shameless process by our government to rearm Germany, to put atom bombs into the hands of the cruellest and most conscienceless mass murderers in human history, the book assumes the greatest importance.

"When any foul plant is full grown, it is difficult to recall the innocent weed from which it sprang—yet it is necessary to do so and to know and understand the first origins of evil. This service Cedric Belfrage performs ably and interestingly. I would like to see this book placed in the hands of every American of conscience."

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The key states: Neuberger triumphs, Taylor jobbed

This is what happened in some of the key states in the Nov. 2 elections.

Idaho

SEN. DWORSHAK defeated Glen Taylor (D), Henry Wallace's running mate in the 1948 Progressive Party campaign, by about 140,000 to 83,000 in the Senate race. Taylor was severely critical of the Administration's foreign and domestic policies. Getting off to a fast start in a race which caused the nation's press to take alarmed notice, Taylor was jobbed by his own party. John Corlett, political commentator for the pro-Dworshak Pocatello (Idaho) **State Journal**, wrote (9/5):

> "The part played by the Democrats in this election is evident to all. As in the rest of the nation there was a Democratic 'trend,' shown by the inroads made by Democratic legislative candidates and the closeness of the race for lesser state offices. There is many a conservative Democrat today who is slyly laughing and telling other conservative Democrats that for the first time in the history of Idaho, it took those Democrats to win a Republican victory."

WHY THEY DID IT: A GUARDIAN correspondent in Idaho writes:

> "Taylor gave as his reason for the defeat a last-minute smear (his former secretary's red-baiting), but the plain fact is that many Democrats were passively or actively against him. These people knew they could not control him, so undoubtedly connived with the GOP to bring about his defeat. His stand on foreign policy made Taylor's campaign the most significant in the nation; his defeat was 'necessary' at all costs. Who knows what money was poured out for this purpose? Actually, considering the forces arrayed against him, Taylor did a wonderful job. He showed great ability, integrity and courage; his campaign was thorough and honest; he was defeated by insuperable odds."

Oregon

THE EARLY RETURNS in Oregon, from people who voted during the day, gave Sen. Guy Cordon a steady lead over Richard L. Neuberger, political writer, state legislator, New Deal conservationist. Then, the **Christian Science Monitor** reported (9/5),

> ". . . when the tabulators reached the ballots of the 'workingmen,' who went to the polls after 5 p.m., the Neuberger columns began to fill. Thus the element of time demonstrated the source of the Neuberger strength. Organized labor, strong only in the Portland area, has never been more united in supporting a Congressional candidate as it was in this instance."

Neuberger, a facile speaker and tireless worker, exposed Cordon's role in tidelands oil and power giveaways, campaigned on lifting "the state out of the red, while his opponent talked only of saving Oregon from the reds" (**Federated Press**).

Neuberger told **U. S. News** (9/12):

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
That 5 o'clock sunshine

> "The main factor in my election was basic dissatisfaction with the resources policy of the Eisenhower administration. The election was quite a setback for [Interior Secy.] McKay and quite a confirmation for Wayne Morse. . . . We had the almost total opposition of the press. . . . I think McKay's stumping for Cordon hurt Cordon."

Pennsylvania

DEMOCRATIC State Chairman J. M. Barr gave organized labor the "lion's share" of credit in the election of George M. Leader. Industrial Pittsburgh and Philadelphia went strongly Democratic, as did the mining districts. Leader hit hard at unemployment and the state sales tax. He also cut into the normally Republican rural districts to win by a vote of 1,980,000 to 1,706,000 for Lt. Gov. Wood.

Illinois

A GUARDIAN correspondent writes from Chicago:

> "The big race was between Sen. Douglas (D) and Joseph T. Meek, a '1000% McCarthy man.' Douglas swept to victory by almost 250,000 votes, breaking through in normally GOP territory. He emphasized the economic issues. Meek, a 20-year lobbyist for retail merchants, was tagged as a big business representative. He called an anti-depression program of public works 'socialism.' The Republican party's demagogic appeals on the peace issue came too late.
>
> "Douglas said that on foreign policy he would support Ike better than Meek. He avoided the McCarthy issue as much as possible, answering questions, but never introducing the question. He refused even to say whether he would vote to censure Joe till he heard all the evidence. All labor supported Douglas, although the United Electrical Workers and other independent unions criticized him for supporting the Brownell-Butler Act, his witch-hunting and support of the Administration's foreign policy.
>
> "The general progressive feeling is that Douglas' election marks the beginning, not the end; that he will have to be pushed on his campaign promises; that if he continues to support Eisenhower's foreign policy he will have to renege on domestic promises, which will create a real struggle with his labor supporters."

ONE UP, ONE DOWN: In Cook County (Chicago) the Democrats won control of all offices except coroner. But the big story lies, our correspondent wrote, in Democratic victories in the House:

> "Rep. Barratt O'Hara defeated ex-Rep. Richard B. Vail (R), who once said 'I wouldn't know a fascist if I had one by the tail.' Vail staged a vicious race-hate campaign, was repudiated even by some Republican leaders.
>
> "In the 12th CD Charles A. Boyle (D) pulled off the biggest upset in beating arch-conservative Edgar P. Jonas by 8,000 votes. Boyle ran the best campaign of any Illinois Congressional candidates on the issues; it was a tremendous victory.
>
> "In the 18th CD, Rep. Velde won handily over Democrat Howard Beeney, who ran for the exercise. A slight stir was created when Robt. Allison, Velde's GOP primary opponent, came out for Beeney; but Beeney's campaign was too lethargic."

Minnesota

SEN. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY kept his seat with ease. He got a big farm and labor vote. A GUARDIAN correspondent writes:

> "Humphrey stressed the economic issues, although he was careful to say he was for peace too. He pulled Orville Freeman, his protege, to victory in the governorship race.
>
> "Roy Weir, one of the sane voices in the House, beat his GOP foe easily. Rep. Walter Judd, an ardent Chiang booster, won by 10,000 votes over Anders Thompson (D-FL), who was hampered by lack of money and canvassers. This is probably Judd's smallest margin since 1942. In general the vote was the D-FL's strongest since the merger of the Democratic Party with the Farmer-Labor party in 1944."

Wisconsin

WILLIAM PROXMIRE (D) lost to Gov. Kohler by 34,000 votes; two years ago he was defeated by Kohler by 400,000. He said:

> "The closeness of the race indicates that Sen. McCarthy, whose strength is so much less than his party's, will not now survive another Wisconsin election."

South Carolina

J. STROM THURMOND, Dixiecrat former Governor, was elected on a write-in campaign over the regular Democratic candidate Edgar A. Brown. It was believed to be the first time a U. S. Senator had been elected on a write-in. The vote: Thurmond, 141,000; Brown, 82,000.

The election, the N. Y. **Times** reported soberly, was a "popular revolution," involving not states rights but resentment against Brown's being nominated by a closed party caucus without a primary. Thurmond was supported by Gov. Byrnes. Brown, said the **Times**, took his defeat "rather grumpily."

California

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY won all state offices and the U. S. Senate seat, but its margins were cut by half from 1950. Gov. Knight, a strong bipartisan vote-getter, helped his ticket as he defeated Richard P. Graves (D). Sen. Kuchel defeated Rep. Yorty for the two-year Senate term. There was talk immediately after election that the Democratic candidate in 1956 would be former U. of Chicago president Robt. Hutchins, now a California resident.

Rep. Robert Condon (D), who was refused a security clearance to witness an H-bomb test, lost by a slim margin. All the big guns of the GOP were arrayed against him; Nixon made him a special target; he was rebuffed by the Democratic Natl. Committee. James Roosevelt, also snubbed by the natl. committee, won his race, however. He will take Yorty's seat in the House.

CHARLES C. DIGGS
That makes No. 3 in Congress

The IPP vote was running 2½% but was incomplete at press time.

Michigan

THE **FP** reported from Detroit: "Michigan came as near to the pollster's prediction of a Democratic sweep as any state in the Union. The President flew to Michigan in a too-little, too-late effort to help his party." This is what happened:

1. Gov. Williams was re-elected to a fourth term by 250,000.
2. Patrick V. McNamara (D) won over Sen. Homer Ferguson, chairman of the GOP policy committee, by 45,000. It was McNamara's first try for public office. He is president of the AFL Steamfitters Union and a construction executive at the same time.
3. Two Democrats were added to the Congressional delegation, making the ratio 7 Democrats, 11 Republicans.

The Detroit **Free Press** summed up (9/4): "The Democratic Party in Michigan . . . is essentially a labor party."

The elections

(Continued from Page 1)

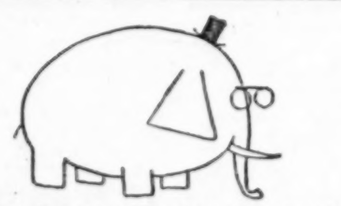
competition everywhere except in the South. Nobody can deny a victory which enables the Democrats to control the [Congressional] committee chairmanships, but the margin was merely the point after the touchdown."

CHANGE IN POLICY? What would the election mean to America's foreign and domestic policies? Millions of words were written before and after the vote, but the plainest were contained in a Washington report to the **Times** (9/5):

> "There has long been a conviction in Washington that President Eisenhower has at his command whenever he wishes it a sizable bipartisan majority on the really vital national and international issues. To command it now he may have to do some tough bargaining with Rep. Sam Rayburn [new Speaker], but many of the ideas the President has put forward in recent years are not unattractive to the conservative Texas Democrat. . . . There will be a changing of the guard in Washington. There is not likely to be any sharp change in principles."

This view was underscored by the prospective Senate leader Johnson of Texas who said the Democratic majority would work for "true bipartisanship." Often in the last two years his position has been indistinguishable from that of outgoing majority leader Knowland.

These were the reactions of some of those most concerned:



THE PRESIDENT: He expressed himself as blissfully ignorant of the local issues involved in many contests; admitted he was "absolutely astonished and surprised" at some results; maintained, at his press conference the day after election, the above-the-battle serenity of a field commander in mufti.

LABOR: Its leaders were moderately happy. AFL President Meany said the voting showed a "consistent trend in favor of liberal, progressive candidates . . . obviously unemployment was the big issue in industrial areas." CIO-PAC director Kroll said he was well satisfied. **Labor**, publication of the railroad brotherhood, said: "A very large majority of the candidates indorsed by railroad labor came through successfully."

THE ADA: It said liberal candidates were victorious in areas where Nixon concentrated most of his efforts, that "a liberal trend, although spotty, is clearly present."

THE POLLSTERS: Almost all of them, way off in their predictions, were making weighted comments about "margins of error."

THE COMMITTEES: There will be a new look in Congressional committees, where control of chairmanship and staff often influences the progress of legislation. In most cases, however, the new look will be confined to face—not policy. Southern Democrats, because of seniority, will replace Northern Republicans in most important places. In the

(Continued on Page 4)

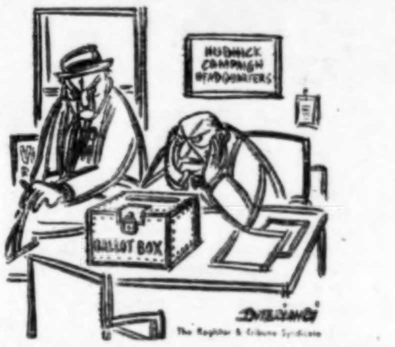
The elections

(Continued from Page 4)

House, for example, the important Committee on Rules will be headed by Rep. Howard W. Smith (Va.), author of the Smith Act; the Committee on Labor and Education by Graham A. Barden (N.C.), opposed to Taft-Hartley Act revision. In the Senate, the Agricultural Committee chairmanship will go to Allen J. Ellender (La.) who sees no need to revise Agriculture Secy. Benson's policies. One bright spot is Emanuel Celler's (N.Y.) chairmanship of the House Judiciary Committee.

There may be a change in investigating committee practice. Rep. Walter (Pa.) who will head the Committee on Un-American Activities, advocates abolition of the committee in favor of a joint Congressional investigating committee. Sen. McClellan (Ark.), who will replace Sen. McCarthy as head of the investigating subcommittee of the Committee on Govt. Operations, wants that committee's work shifted to the Internal Security subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. There seemed to be no sound basis for press speculation that investigation emphasis would shift from "subversion" to "corruption and giveaway."

THE WITCH-HUNTERS: The 100% McCarthyites fared badly. **In Wisconsin** Rep. Kersten (R) was defeated, although seven other Republicans were returned. In **Illinois** Fred E. Busbey, premature McCarthyite, lost to James C. Murray, liberal Democrat who had strong labor support. In **Michigan**, the Un-American Committee's Kit Clardy (R), two-time winner by 100,000 votes, lost to Donald Hayworth, a speech teacher at Michigan State College, by 5,000. In **Washington** Rep. Magnuson won by 10,000.


HUDNICK CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
BALLOT BOX
INTERLANDI
The Register & Tribune Syndicate

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"Gad when I think of the power the people have . . . it just isn't fair. . . ."

FARM VOTE: The corn and wheat belt vote was hard to figure. The biggest upset came in **Minnesota**, where Mrs. Coya Knutson (D-FL) unseated veteran Harold C. Hagen (R), and Orville Freeman (D-FL) won the governorship race over incumbent Elmer Anderson (R). **In Missouri** two Democrats, running on an anti-Benson program, beat two Republicans. But in **Iowa**, Thos. E. Martin (R.) defeated Sen. Gillette, opponent of the Benson plan, and the entire Congressional delegation (three voted for, and five against flexible supports) was returned. In **Colorado**, Lieut. Gov. Allott defeated Rep. Carroll (D), a vocal critic of Benson, for the U.S. Senate. In general, however, Republican margins in the vast Missouri Basin were cut.

INDUSTRIAL AREAS: Economic slump and unemployment were big issues in Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York, Illinois (where the Democrats scored) and Massachusetts and Ohio (where they lost by slim margins).

NEGRO REPRESENTATION: Three Negroes will sit in Congress beginning in January. Re-elected were Reps. Powell (D-N.Y.) and Dawson (D-Ill.) The newcomer is Michigan State Senator Charles C. Diggs, a Detroit undertaker, who defeated by 2-to-1 Landon Knight, son of the editor of the Detroit **Free Press.**

THE WOMEN: There was an increase in the representation of women in public office. Seventeen were elected to Congress; the first woman lieutenant governor in the nation's history was elected in Vermont; women were chosen in New Mexico and Connecticut as Secy of State; in Pennsylvania as Secy. of Internal Affairs; as Supt. of Public Instruction in New Mexico and Wyoming. Ten women were elected to the Connecticut Legislature.

THE RESTLESS ONES: Perhaps the keenest comment came from Samuel Lubell, political commentator for the Scripps-Howard press, in an election preview:

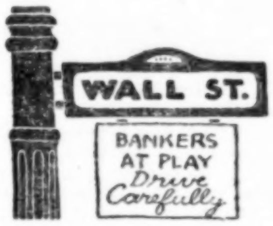
> "The fact is the balance of power in the country today rests with the voters who do not trust either party fully, who dread both unemployment and war, both depression and inflation, and too heavy preponderance of influence for either labor or business. . . . This year's election reflects a restless tossing from one side to the other of a nation which cannot find restful slumber in the bed of either party."

One development which was not calculated to lessen the need of the American people for a sedative was the fact that stock prices on the N.Y. Exchange scored a net gain of $5.69 a share the day after election; it was the biggest advance for any day since Sept. 5, 1939—the first business day after the outbreak of World War II.

Speed the day!

DETROIT (AP.)—Robert C. Gilmore Jr., president of the National Association of Life Underwriters, told a Detroit audience that broadening of Social-Security benefits would threaten America's thrift habit. He said: "If we remove the incentive to work and save and build an estate if we keep pyramiding Government benefits for everyone, we will one day eliminate the need for savings banks, building and loan associations, life insurance and securities of all kinds."

—Detroit Free Press



LOS ANGELES

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You can spend lots more money, but you won't find nicer holiday greeting cards than the Guardian Set. See p. 12.

CALENDAR

Detroit

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Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 20-21
A. C. Williams Baptist Church
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- Dozens of booths with gifts.
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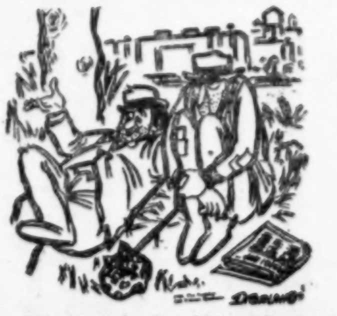
- Sat. at 2:30 p.m. Peggy Dennis, wife of Eugene Dennis, will speak.
- Sun. morning Brunch from 10-12.
- Sun. Aft. Kiddies Xmas Party. Free gifts to all kids. No admission for children.

Other special events: Showings of Charlie Chaplin films several times during Bazaar. Delicious meals: Salisbury steak, meat balls & spaghetti—coffee and cake at all times. All proceeds to Michigan Worker. Donations of material gratefully accepted, picked up if desired. Call WOodward 4-9015.

"Bearing of the Election Results on Foreign and Domestic Policy," discussed by CARL HAESSLER, managing editor of the Federated Press, Fri., Nov. 26, 8 p.m., YMCA, 13220 Woodward, nr. Davison. Ausp: Review-of-the-Month Forum.

Chicago

SAVE $$ on your Christmas gifts at Gala SOUTH OF THE BORDER BAZAAR. Specially imported Mexican jewelry, pottery, hand-woven stoles, hand-made leather goods, children's toys. Also "White Elephant" bargains. SAT., NOV. 20, 2 to 10 p.m., at Quincy Club, 3806 So. Michigan. Auspices: CHICAGO WOMEN FOR PEACE.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"Figure it out. Guided missiles and misguided diplomats. If we had less of the latter we wouldn't need so much of the former."

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7

The Northwest Peace Committee invites you to a MUSICALE AND SQUARE DANCE at River Park Fieldhouse, 5100 N. Francisco (2900 west), Nov. 28, 7 p.m. Featuring concert pianist Ruth Kaufman. Professional caller. Don't forget this very important date.

*** 18 days left to CRC ANNUAL BAZAAR, Dec. 3, 4, 5, People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av. Xmas toys and gifts for all the family. Volunteer helpers needed. Civil Rights Congress of Illinois, 6 East Lake Street, Room 510 — ST 2-8357 ***

Los Angeles

Gayest Event of the Season!
4th Annual THANKSGIVING BALL on Thanksgiving Eve., Wed., Nov. 24, $1.50 per person. At the beautiful Riviera Country Club on Sunset Blvd. 3 miles west of Sepulveda Blvd. California Legislative Conference.

RESERVE THIS WEEKEND!
Fri., Sat., Sun., Nov. 19-21, the 1st Unitarian Church of L. A. invites you to the biggest All-Church Bazaar in their history. See the Unitarian Drama Workshop productions of "The Toast," "Hopalong Freud," "Florence"; films of international significance; Vera Leeper's Puppet Shows for children. Solve holiday shopping problems: Toys, Green Plants, Books, Records, Ceramics, Jewelry, Paintings, Sculpture, Antiques, Surprise Packages, White Elephants (furniture, appliances, clothing), New Merchandise, Handmade Articles, 3 Original Holiday Greeting Cards by Unitarian Artists. Fri.: 11 a.m.-11 p.m.; Sat.: noon-11 p.m.; Sun.: 1-6 p.m. Dinner served continuously. 1st Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St.

CLASSIFIED

General

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"SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION," a new book by CEDRIC BELFRAGE. The inside story behind Sen. McCarthy's determination to deport GUARDIAN's Editor, a "man who knows too much." Belfrage Fight-Back Fund, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y. Price: $1.50 per copy. All proceeds to Fight-Back Fund. Also available—a few copies of Belfrage's "A FAITH TO FREE THE PEOPLE," $1.25 per copy.

Shalom Alekhem!

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Progressive Americans who don't subscribe to Jewish Life should make its acquaintance by purchasing the November issue, marking the 310th anniversary of Jewish settlement in this country. As in the case of its superb Rosenberg Memorial Issue, this is one to cherish and show to friends.

Paul Robeson's eloquent article, "Bonds of Brotherhood," expresses the unity which must be fused between us, not as Jews, Negroes, Gentiles but as "Americans All." This unity will win for us victory on every front—but the greatest of these victories will be Peace. In greeting Editor Harap and colleagues with the Hebrew words "Shalom Alekhem"—Peace be unto you—we pay tribute to Jewish Life's contribution to the happy day when such a greeting will be exchanged in every tongue between all peoples. Muriel I. Symington

United Nations

(Continued from Page 1)

jurisdiction. The Assembly majority recommended direct S. Africa-India-Pakistan negotiations under a neutral chairman; it has so far taken no action on the other issue.

The Asian-Arab group scored a victory in the Trusteeship Committee when the committee, despite opposition of all colonial powers, told administering countries to submit reports on political progress in trust areas.

"LOYALTY": The U.S. doggedly pursued its attempt to have American UN employes dismissed for questionable "loyalty" to current Washington concepts, in face of the UN Tribunal's consistent upholding of the employes' rights as in the case of UNESCO's David Leff. (The issue of paying 11 dismissed employes the Tribunal-directed compensation comes up soon in the UN Budgetary Comm., with the U.S. committed to opposing such payment.) In fact, the U.S. has carried its private "loyalty" concept into the making of UN's own staff policy, as was shown in the attack by Washington's Henry Cabot Lodge on UN Secy.-Gen. Hammarskjold and UNESCO Dir.-Gen. Luther Evans.

Last month, in a 16-page pamphlet entitled "Report on Standards of Conduct in the Intl. Civil Service," the UN Intl. Civil Service Advisory Board recommended that:

> In case of conflict between national and international loyalties, "the conduct of the international civil servant must clearly reflect his obligation to the international organization";
>
> UN employes "must clearly understand that they are not, in any sense, representatives of a national government or of a national policy."

Lodge promptly called the recommendation "a mistake [which] should be changed," and said: "I am going to do something about it." Hammarskjold next day tried to clear up the "misunderstanding," explaining that:

> ". . . Loyalty to the UN, in the sense in which I understand the board to have used the phrase, does not bring a staff member in conflict with the duties of a good citizen. . . ."

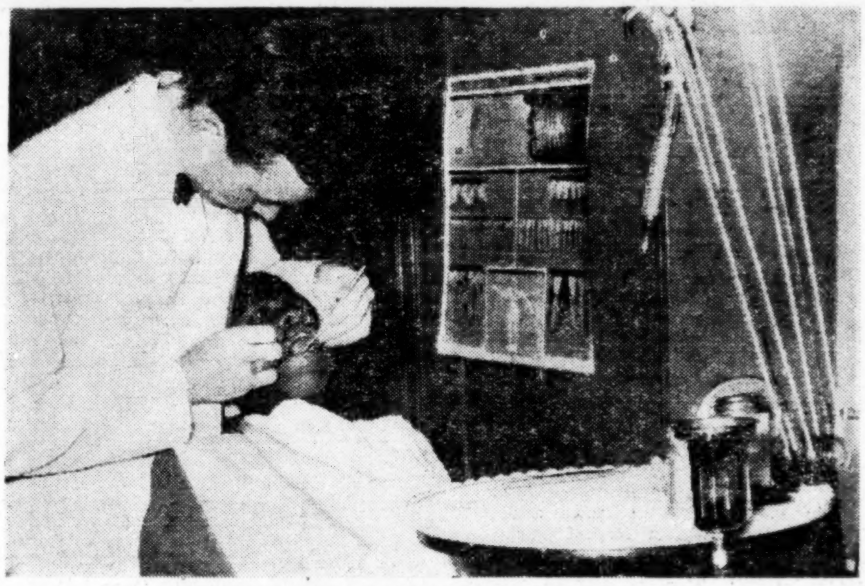
Saying he was "confident the pivot word here is 'loyalty,'" Board chairman Aghnides of Greece commented:

> "If it had not been for the controversy that has surrounded this word in the U.S. over the past couple of years, it would never have excited such a flurry. We have had no such reaction in other countries, nor do we expect any."

Lodge subsided by saying he was "glad . . . the Secy.-Gen.'s statement seems to clear up the matter." In a statement cleared by the State Dept., Lodge also assailed UNESCO head Luther Evans for not immediately firing eight U.S. citizens employed by the organization who received adverse "loyalty" reports. Evans, former Librarian of Congress, vainly pointed out that he had announced his intention to dismiss four when their contracts expired in a few months; and that he was going to ask the UNESCO conference at Montevideo this month to empower him to fire the other four.

On Nov. 5 the UNESCO Appeals Board—as it had done in the Leff case—ruled against Evans' decision to dismiss the four whose contracts expire soon. The American Civil Liberties Union wrote Lodge that the kind of pressure the U.S. was putting on Evans would destroy the integrity of those employed by international agencies.

PLUMS FOR PAKISTAN: In two important UN appointments, Pakistan was rewarded for its loyalty to U.S. policies. Pakistani Foreign Minister Zafrulla Khan was elected to the Intl. Court of Justice to fill the unexpired term of India's Sir Benegal Rao, who died last year, over India's protest that the position should be filled by an Indian. Ahmed S. Bokhari, former head of Pakistan's UN delegation, was named Under-Secy. in Charge of the Public Information Dept., although India insisted it was wrong to name diplomats involved in controversial questions to staff positions.



This time it won't hurt pop's pocket

Fred Hughes, 11, son of a member of Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Local 10, Oakland, Calif., is one of the first of 4,000 youngsters (up to 14) to use the ILWU's Pilot Dental Program, opened in the Bay Area Oct. 1. In the first program of its kind in the U.S. children of members of the union's Welfare Fund will receive care through a service plan with dentists or through an arrangement with Continental Casualty Co. Under the insurance plan the family may choose any dentist licensed by the American Medical Assn. and the bill will be paid on a fee basis up to $75 a year per child. Similar ILWU plans will be instituted in San Pedro, Calif., Portland, Ore., and Seattle, Wash.

THE LAW

Government challenged on new arrests under membership clause of Smith Act

By Eugene Gordon

UNTIL last June 26 the government rounded up and tried Communists under one specific clause of the Smith Act — the "conspiracy-to-teach-and-advocate" section. On that date, for the first time, it used the "membership" clause—Sec. 2—in arresting Illinois CP exec. secy. Claude M. Lightfoot. He was held in $50,000 bond (finally reduced to $30,000). He was charged with being a member of the CP, "well knowing" that it "was and is a society, group, and assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the government by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit," and with himself "intending to bring about such overthrow as speedily as circumstances would permit."

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
A clear contradiction

In previous Smith Act cases the prosecution has contended that a person still could legally belong to a party which, the government said, conspired to advocate overthrow by violence. Lightfoot's differed from previous cases in that the indictment specified the amount of bail which—even when reduced by $20,000—was the highest Smith Act bail yet. The federal judge pointed out in court that whereas previous Smith Act convictions brought a 5-year maximum, Lightfoot's could get him ten years behind bars.

TAKES 2 TO CONSPIRE: For former CP legislative representative Albert Emanuel Blumberg, arrested Sept. 30, bail was set at $40,000. On Nov. 1, the N.Y. **Times** reported, New Jersey CP leader Martha Stone Asher was "seized" as she emerged from "underground" to go to a birthday party in the Bronx. Both were detained under Sec. 2.

Mrs. Asher was originally indicted June 17 when seven persons were grabbed in Connecticut. The FBI did not publish her name because it could not find her. Her counsel, Reuben Terris, suggested the government feels it would "look better" to charge her wth "membership" rather than "conspiracy," since she could hardly conspire with herself alone. The **Times** thus clarified the government position on Dr. Blumberg:

> "Most of [the 118 arrested since 1948] were charged with conspiring to teach and advocate forceful overthrow of the government. But because two or more persons must be involved to prove conspiracy, that section of the Smith Act could not be used in the Blumberg case."

ILLINOIS PRECEDENT: The new wrinkle in Smith Act indictments recalled the bills introduced in Illinois by State Sen. Paul W. Broyles in 1949, '51 and '53. The '51 bill provided 1-5 years' imprisonment for "any person who is a Communist . . . or who is in any way active in behalf of Communism or of any Communist front organization." Democratic Gov. Adlai Stevenson in 1951 vetoed the Broyles bill, declaring that suppression was "a dangerous precedent." Republican Gov. William G. Stratton last year vetoed it again. Both Stratton and Stevenson were supported by AFL, CIO and independent unions, and by organizations of Protestant and Jewish clergy, lawyers, parents and teachers, students, educators, and businessmen.

Since Sec. 2 of the Smith Act and certain provisions of the Broyles bill are almost interchangeable, the dangers in the "membership" indictments are equally clear. Armour Local 347, United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO), has already said in a resolution on Lightfoot that

> ". . . it is patently unreasonable to uphold such an indictment in view of the recent heated debate in Congress on the Communist Control Act of 1954 [from which], after much dispute, Congress finally determined that it would delete the provision for penalizing individuals for membership in the Communist Party."

IS THIS CLEAR? Lightfoot's defense counsel's 35-page motion to dismiss pays special attention to that contradiction. Recalling that the Smith Act when passed 14 years ago provided (1) against groups advocating overthrow of the government by force, and (2) against anybody being a member of a group so designated, the motion points out that a majority of Congress opposed forcing CP members to register so long as Sec. 2 of the Smith Act remained. If CP membership was a crime under Sec. 2, then a person registering would be incriminating himself. That was too obviously unconstitutional.

Congress therefore wrote into the McCarran Act that CP membership violated neither that "nor any other criminal statute." The Lightfoot defense maintains that Sec. 2 of the Smith Act was thus nullified in order to provide the McCarran Act with a registration section. Clearly, the aim was to pin the "foreign-domination" tag on all "Communists," such "Communists" having already been defined by Congress.

The defense conclusion is that Lightfoot, Blumberg and Asher have been indicted under a law that is no longer in force—Sec. 2 of the Smith Act. That law is no longer in force because the registration section of the McCarran Act takes its place. The CP is presently fighting (in the Circuit Court of Appeals) against that registration section.

Browder didn't tell the half of it

In I. F. Stone's **Weekly** former Communist leader Earl Browder cited the willing co-operation with the CP by Thomas Dewey and the late Sen. Taft back in the Thirties (GUARDIAN, 11/1). A reader sends us the "Annual Bulletin" of one Gregory G. Bern (Box 1281, Los Angeles 53, Calif.; 20 copies for $1), listing some 250 persons and groups "following the Communist Party line." If Bern is reliable, the following in addition to Dewey are among "subversive elements . . . more dangerous than members of the Communist Party" today:

Winthrop Aldrich, ambassador to Britain
Charles Bohlen, ambassador to U.S.S.R.
Gen. Donovan, ex-ambassador to Thailand
John Foster and Allen Dulles
Milton and Arthur Eisenhower
UN delegate Henry Cabot Lodge
National Council of Churches
J. Peurifoy, ex-ambassador to Guatemala
Time, Life and Fortune
Gen. Lucius Clay
Henry Ford II
Samuel Goldwyn
Averell Harriman
Paul G. Hoffman
Roy Howard
John J. McCloy
Nelson Rockefeller
Harold Stassen
Adlai Stevenson
Harry S. Truman
Sen. Alexander Wiley

The **People's World** of San Francisco rates listing in Bern's "Bulletin" along with four of the seven N.Y. dailies and a number of other newspapers; the GUARDIAN doesn't rate.

Oh-h-h-h-h-h-h!

Sen. Milliken (R-Colo.), with wet handkerchief on his head, at the hearings on the Dixon-Yates contract, which threatens to give the GOP an even bigger headache than in the election. Maybe he should try a wet blanket.

WILL BEVAN BREAK THE LABOUR-TORY COALITION?

The Battle for Britain is joined

By Gordon Schaffer

LONDON

WITH Aneurin Bevan leading an open revolt, following the hair's-breadth majority for German rearmament won by the right-wing machine at the Labour Party conference, the battle is on within the party against the coalition with the Tories in foreign affairs. The big battle is joined for the first time since a group of Labour MP's challenged Ernest Bevin's policy—and were crushed—during the first post-war Labour government.

The debates at the Trades Union Congress and the Conservative conferences had all underlined the unity between the two parties. Sir Vincent Tewson for the T. U. C. says W. German rearmament is necessary to "defend the freedom of the West." Attlee for the Labour Party says they must guard against a "putsch from within." Eden says: "If the West discriminates against Bonn, Germany will be driven along dark and dangerous paths." Churchill says: "But for American nuclear weapons the Soviet Union could overrun Europe."

ANEURIN BEVAN
Will he find the answer?

It is all the same language—the language of cold war, of a divided world. It is in fact the language that was used when Hitler created the anti-Comintern pact, and used the fear of communism in Britain, France, and other countries to secure their acquiescence in his policy of world conquest.

THE PARALLEL: Surrendering to the Tories' anti-communist hysteria, the Labour leaders are obliged to pursue policies totally at variance with the ideals of the movement or the desires of the rank and file.

Their attitude is an exact parallel of the pre-war struggles over Spain. Britain's Tory government made no protest when Franco set out to destroy the elected government. France's Leon Blum invented "non-intervention" to hide the betrayal of the Spanish Republic, just as a later French government invented EDC to cover the nakedness of the new Nazi army. In Britain the Tory government and the Labour leaders formed a united front in support of non-intervention in Spain, just as they later formed a united front in support of rearming Germany.

UNITY & BLUDGEONS: But as the Spanish Republic fought back, and the International Brigade symbolized the peoples' united resistance to fascism, Labour's rank and file broke through and forged a unity of progressive forces—Communists, Labour men and women, trade unionists and progressives in the Liberal and Tory parties—in defense of Spain. The Co-Operative Party demanded then a Popular Front of the Labour and Communist parties and other progressive elements against the growing war danger, just as today it is on record against German rearmament in defiance of the Labour Party and the T.U.C. Stafford Cripps, Aneurin Bevan and George Strauss defied the Labour leaders, launched an appeal for the Popular Front.

Using their card-vote majority, the Labour leaders expelled all three from the party and bludgeoned the other rebels into submission. Bevan and Strauss pleaded for re-admission and were allowed back after promising to accept the majority decisions. The Co-Operative movement was soon brought back into line.

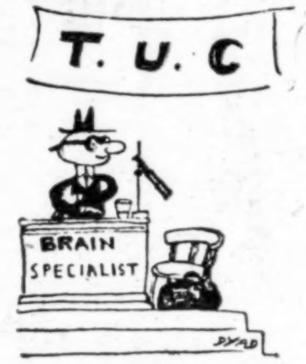
CARDS IN BEVAN'S HAND: Once again Bevan is in revolt. Will he succeed this time, or will he repeat his pre-war performance?

His position is stronger today because he clearly commands the support of the vast majority of the local Labour parties on which Labour depends for election activity. His supporters can always win the Executive seats allocated to these local parties, while right-wing leaders like Morrison and Gaitskell can only get on to the Executive by the unions' block votes. If the right wing forced a show-down by expelling Bevan, the rank and file would rise in revolt, whereas the pre-war expulsion of Cripps passed almost unnoticed.

Moreover, the right-wing leaders are aware how slender is their majority even among the trade unions. Arthur Deakin, who rules the 1,250,000-strong Transport & General Workers Union with dictatorial authority, is retiring in a year's time, and power in his union could easily swing to the left. If one more district of the Natl. Union of Mineworkers went over to the support of the progressive policies, the right-wing control in both the TUC and the Labour Party would be ended.

So Bevan in his challenge holds many of the cards. His decision to challenge Gaitskell again next year for the party Treasurership means that he will expose the power of the trade union block vote, and in every union the battle will be fought out between the two before the vote at the annual conference.

THE QUESTION MARK: But the Bevanites have not yet found a policy with which to inspire the masses. The party's active members in the towns and villages are themselves formulating alternatives to the policy of cold war. They want friendship and trade with the countries building socialism. They demand negotiations between the great powers to abolish the atom bomb, and a reduction of the crushing burden of armaments. They are breaking through the bans imposed by the leaders; they are forging their own unity between Communist and non-Communist workers.



Drawing by Dyad, London
"All those in favor of rearming the Nazis step this way."

Bevan's revolt against the coalition policy has been been of great value in focussing these growing demands of the masses, but like Cripps in the pre-war years much of his philosophy is negative. He has not yet come out clearly for a new constructive program of friendship and co-operation with all peace-loving countries. And he does not realize that unity is the first need of the working class.

That is Bevan's dilemma, and that is why his future part in the struggle remains a question mark.

HIGH COURT ACTS

There's still hope for Irvin's life

ON Nov. 6 the U. S. Supreme Court stopped the Florida executioner from pulling the electric-chair switch on Walter Lee Irvin. The execution had been set for the week of Nov. 8. Irvin is the only survivor among four Negro youths accused by a Groveland (Fla.) white woman in 1949 of raping her and beating her husband. One was killed in the outbreak of terror and violence which followed her story. One, "too young" for execution, was sentenced to life on the chaingang. The third was shot down by a sheriff who was transferring him and Irvin from state prison to a new trial.

The Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People filed the plea for stay of execution with Justice Hugo Black Nov. 5. After having ordered a new trial once, the Supreme Court had refused to review when Irvin was sentenced a second time. The NAACP will now ask again that the high tribunal review the second conviction.

The GUARDIAN has been among the leaders in the nationwide movement for Irvin's freedom. Facts showing that the youths, immediately upon arrest, were beaten and otherwise mistreated by the sheriff, and that the physician who examined the woman said he saw no evidence of rape, were published in this paper and used by its readers in their appeals to Florida's governor. Our readers are urged to keep on the alert for developments in the case of Walter Lee Irvin.

THE AGONY OF A DYING DEMOCRACY

The last week of the Guatemalan Republic

FEW people outside Guatemala knew the agony of the last week of the republic, June 20-27, 1954. Only now, four months afterward, are there reports—still sketchy—of the heroism, betrayal and terror that climaxed the Washington-sponsored overthrow-by-force of the elected government.

Early in June, before Col. (now President) Castillo Armas crossed the Honduras border into Guatemala but when the invasion was plainly threatened, the government of President Arbenz was counting on appeals to UN and the conscience of Americans, north and south. It was also readying what defenses it had. On June 8, 200 high army officers met with Arbenz. According to Carlos Fernandez in the current issue of **Latin America Today**, the session began on a hostile note with some officers prepared to assassinate the President on the spot.

A GUATEMALAN FARMER
Under Arbenz he got his own land; under Castillo he lost it

MILITARY SABOTAGE: Arbenz reportedly won over most of the officers at that session, and they publicly took an oath to defend Guatemala. On June 18 Castillo launched his attack but six days later had made little headway.

He was winning the war in the capital. Arbenz had ordered arms distributed to the farmers but, according to authoritative French sources, high military officials were sabotaging distribution.

On June 24, according to these sources, U.S. diplomats who had kept up a running fire of demands on the palace bluntly informed the Guatemalan chief of staff that if Guatemalan civilians were given arms, the invaders' forces would be doubled; if the Arbenz government bought planes from Mexico or anywhere else, Castillo's air force would be doubled.

PEASANTS FOUGHT ON: On June 25 farmers were reported marching on the capital to demand arms; army officers, now openly defying Arbenz, threatened to open fire on them. U. S. Ambassador Peurifoy had by then accomplished a coup in traditional style with the aid of the Guatemalan colonels. The situation was out of Arbenz' hands.

Latin America Today reported the police were loyal throughout. French sources said military police had taken over, however, even while Arbenz was dickering with Peurifoy on final surrender terms. The army was arresting trade union leaders who were heading for the countryside to rally the people.

The country people never stopped fighting even when newsmen were photographing "enthusiastic receptions" for Castillo in the capital. When the army pulled back from Chiquimula, 8,000 farmers stopped the officers and demanded weapons. They were given 80 obsolete rifles. The invaders were driven out of Puerto Barrios not by the military but by the citizenry, according to **LAT.**

In that fighting trade union leader Ruben Castellanos and a young woman partisan leader, Hayde Godoy, lost their lives. Thousands of others fell fighting elsewhere including Felix Moreno and all the trade union leaders of the United Fruit locals.

TRANQUILLITY: The country was not pacified until two weeks after Castillo took power. Even now, according to French reporters, the dictator "can parade in the capital but dares not do so in the countryside where hatred is rising among the farmers, once again landless."

Armand Gatti wrote in the **Parisien Libéré** (7/21):

> "When I arrived at [Mixco, not far from the capital], the 'jefe' of the Civil Guard met me with a big grin:
>
> "'Rebels or not, we've arrested all the farmers who benefited from the agrarian reform. They are all in prison. The country is tranquil.'"

In Mexico City where he was granted asylum, Arbenz gave his first public statement last week to the newspaper **Excelsior.** Charging Washington with completely financing Castillo and his "mercenaries and adventurers" with "millions of dollars," he stoutly defended his former police chiefs Col. Rogelio Cruz Wer and Maj. Jaime Rosenberg whom Castillo seeks to have extradited for trial on atrocity charges. Arbenz called the charges "atrocious calumnies," said the "anti-Arbenz atrocity victims" whose bodies were put on show by Castillo were in fact victims of fighting within Castillo's own army.

In an exclusive **UP** interview last week Castillo gave his firing squad schedule: the first 20 "Communists" would be shot before the end of November. Some 100 more, he said, are in prison and "almost all" will be shot.

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A letter to the author of

Silas Timberman

from a concert musician in Boston, Mass.

November 4, 1954

Dear Howard Fast:

I have just finished reading "Silas," and am impelled to write you. It was an emotional experience I shall never forget. I found myself rereading many paragraphs and pages with tears in my eyes. It is so beautifully written, so powerfully simple, so timely.

In many ways, I think it is your finest book. For your fearlessness, for your integrity, and for your great talent I am humbly grateful.

Most Sincerely,

(Understandably, the name of the author of this letter must be omitted—if his career is to continue. But to read the book he speaks of, to pass it on to a friend, will bring nearer a time when such fear will no longer be a part of our lives.)

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ROBINS TRIBUTE

Rally Nov. 16 for co-existence

THE Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship will hold its annual rally on Nov. 16—anniversary of the establishment of U.S.-U.S.S.R. diplomatic relations—at the New Rockland Palace, 155th St. and 8th Av.

With its theme of "Peaceful Co-existence," the meeting will also mark the 37th anniversary of the U.S.S.R. Dr. John A. Kingsbury, council chairman, will pay tribute to the late Col. Raymond Robins, pioneer in American-Soviet friendship. Other speakers will be Corliss Lamont, the Rev. Wm. Howard Melish and Jessica Smith, editor of New World Review. Paul Robeson will speak and sing.

Tickets at $1 are available at the council offices, 114 E. 32d St., tel. MU 3-2080.

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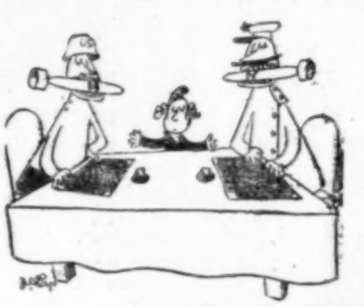
the SPECTATOR

Onion-Head revisited

WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER proclaimed Nov. 11 Veteran's Day instead of Armistice Day, I began looking for things to celebrate. To a former infantryman the rearming of the SS troops offered no cause for rejoicing. Calls from know-nothing statesmen to "liberate" socialist countries did not recall the peace I thought I helped secure at the Rhine. For Veteran's Day to have meaning for me I had to think about a skinny sergeant and an engineering student I once knew.



Canard Enchaine, Paris
"How can you talk with your mouths full?"

Nine years ago, just about this time, I met my first Russian face-to-face. (McCarthy forgive me, I fought on their side.) The war had just ended and my division (it wasn't really mine, I was only a PFC) was sent to the Czech-Austrian border. My company was assigned to man a roadblock on the Czech side. One hundred yards down the road the Russians had their billet.

BOOTS AND WOUNDS: One afternoon curiosity and a yen for vodka (which I never got) led me to the Russian station. They were delighted to see me. A good-natured crowd surrounded me and began asking questions I could not understand. Fortunately a young lieutenant, who in his engineering studies at Moscow University had learned German, volunteered as interpreter. His German and my Yiddish-German gave us a means of communication. They questioned me furiously via the lieutenant. Had I been wounded? Where? How? How many decorations did I have? Did I fight in Italy? Was my uniform warm? Did my boots stand up under heavy marching?

Since my claims to heroism were a scratch on my derriere and a Good Conduct Medal with cluster, I would have preferred other questions. But they persisted. I located my wound for them but the lieutenant had quite a time explaining the significance of the Good Conduct Medal with cluster. While he translated I looked over the group. I noticed that many were well in their Forties, others as young as 16. My outfit ranged from 18 to 38 with the majority in the lower brackets.

EAST-WEST TRADE: By now the Russians were having a good laugh on me. To shift the spotlight I pointed to a skinny, bedraggled youth in an over-sized coat, with a blond crew-cut down to the scalp and not a whisker on his face, who was doing most of the laughing. "Who's the runt?" The runt turned out to be "Comrade platoon sergeant." He had been at Stalingrad, knocked out a Nazi tank, won the Order of Stalin or something and was generally considered the hero of the outfit.

The Russians begged me to return with other GI's. Soon fraternization around the roadblock expanded enormously. Each Russian had a sackfull of back pay in Austrian marks he could only spend in occupied territory. On the other hand GI's could convert foreign currency to dollars and send it home in money orders. East-West trade boomed.

Onion-Head the gunner, Mike the cook and Louie the medic spent the best part of a night painting rubies in the backs of old watches with mercurochrome and an eye-dropper. A 16-ruby watch commanded $100 from the Russians. One day a Headquarters Company lieutenant backed a ¾-ton truck to the roadblock and unloaded a cargo of cigarettes at $80 a carton; GI's had been getting $200. The kitchen jeep soon became a mobile pushcart. Mike the cook would leave with a trailer full of merchandise and return with his pockets stuffed with marks. For a slight commission he included your stuff. To the Russians Mike was an honest-to-goodness capitalist. But they liked him.

Volunteers for roadblock detail became so heavy there was a waiting list.

IN SPITE OF RUBIES: In time the brass cracked down on the number of money orders GI's could send home. The market slumped but fraternization continued. Onion-Head tried teaching the Russians to shoot crap, but when their money was no longer of use, the project collapsed. Still, any day you could find Russian and American soldiers sharing a bottle of wine, joining in a singfest or arguing over whose equipment was better.

Eventually we all went home: Ivan to rebuild his ravaged home; Joe to pick up where he left off.

On Veteran's Day I thought about the skinny platoon sergeant and Moscow student and I wondered if they felt as I: that peaceful co-existence was worth a try, even though Americans paint rubies in the backs of watches. —**Robert E. Light.**

Youth on the march

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On 5th Av. recently I saw Marines and Army men marching in formation with their guns, to the blare of trumpets and the beat of drums. Young people without guns marched in goosestep to the rhythmic martial music.

I thought about the problem of youth versus war and Big Business. It is not enough to describe the cesspool in which youth must swim. Youth can be organized into progressive and peripheral groups—for they are the hope of the future. ALP'ers ought to consider the possibilities of forming youth groups no matter what may happen to the party on election day.

The average age of the ALP rises each year. At a recent Brighton Beach rally the youth could be counted on the fingers of one hand; the crowd was at least 300. **Darned tootin'**

NEW YORK

ALP ballot status still in doubt as tally is checked

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY volunteers were rechecking tallies throughout the state last week—and the question of whether the party would reach its ballot requirement of 50,000 votes remained in doubt.

On Nov. 10 an unofficial count, with 12 upstate counties still unreported, gave ALP's gubernatorial candidate John T. McManus 46,657 votes. This was based on a recheck of the tallies, not on the official recanvass of the machines now underway which is expected to turn up more ALP votes.

Ralph Powe, ALP candidate for controller, and the only Negro running for top office on any slate, was ahead of the ticket in N.Y. City and some cities upstate. Powe seemed certain to go over the 50,000 mark, but the ballot status is determined solely by the governorship score.

LOST, STRAYED OR STOLEN: ALP figures as tabulated in the daily press, particularly from upstate counties, were clearly wide of the mark. For example the **Times** gave the ALP no votes from Dutchess County and the Elections Board there had counted 90. Rockland's total was originally listed at 16 but unofficial tallies in only two of the five townships there gave ALP 110 votes. Montgomery County, which cast 340 ALP votes in 1950, was listed at 3—an unlikely drop even in a bad year. From many counties came reports of error and outright robbery.

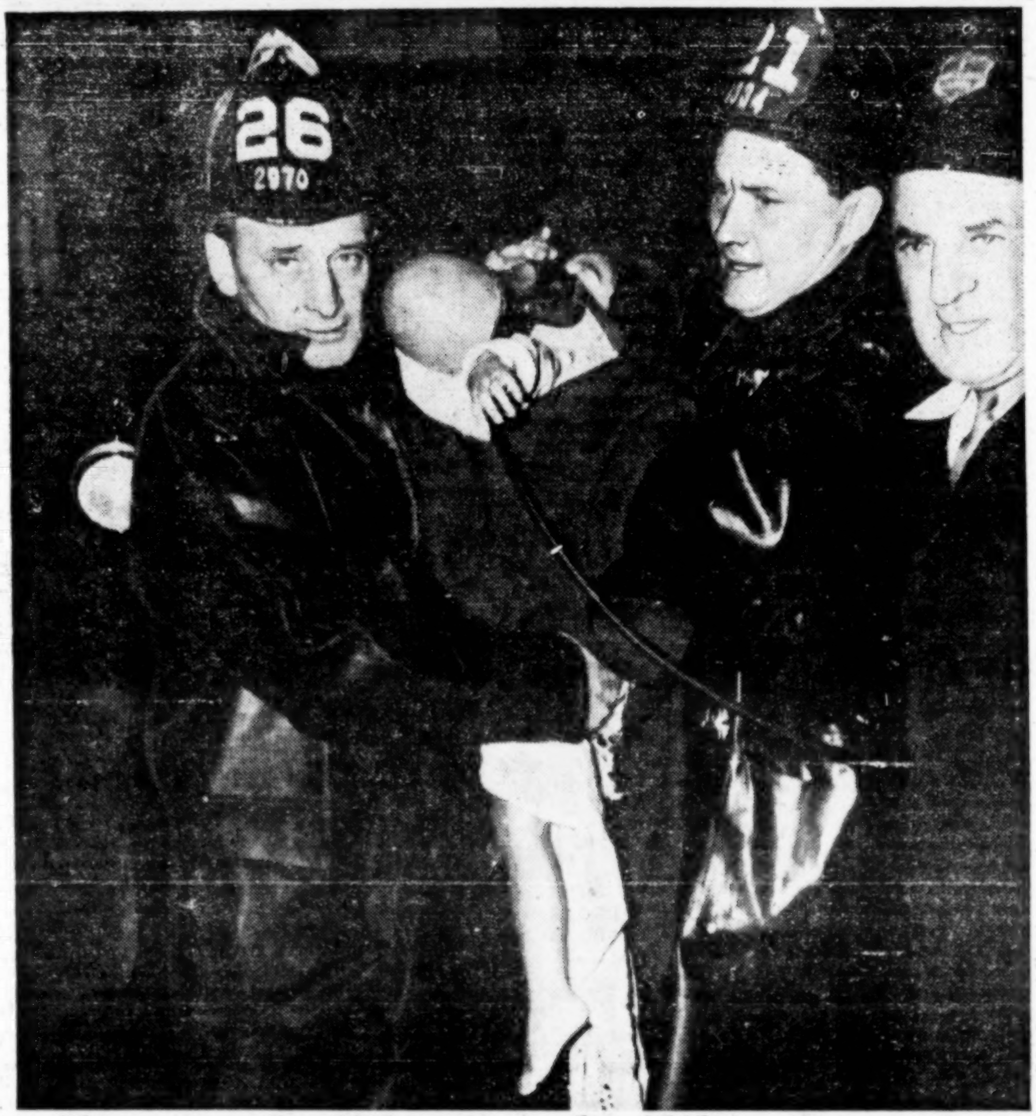
In a telegram to State Atty. Gen. Nathaniel L. Goldstein, ALP exec. secy. Morris Goldin claimed a "short count" in 45 of the 62 counties, said: "There is every indication that more than the 50,000 votes necessary for the ALP to retain its ballot status were cast for John T. McManus. . . . There is a growing suspicion that there is a deliberate and concerted effort to illegally deprive ALP of its ballot status."

Unless the recanvass in N.Y. City shows a marked gain for the ALP, the party will need about 18% of its 1950 votes upstate. In the counties reporting so far the party is averaging about 13%.

NO FUNERAL: Testimonies to the ALP's importance were offered by editorials in most N.Y. City newspapers hailing what they hoped was the party's death, even before the count was in. The **Times** and **Herald Tribune** ran cheerful obituaries; the pro-McCarthy **Daily News** drooled: "To see the ALP slaughtered is a pleasure indeed, and it's a privilege to spit on its grave."

There was no funeral at ALP headquarters. Goldin said the state exec. committee would meet shortly to work out a program for the clubs in connection with the opening of the next session of the Legislature, in which it would campaign to retain rent control and repeal the Hughes-Brees Law restricting unemployment benefits.

Two days after election Goldin wrote all club leaders calling for a letter campaign to Sens. Lehman and Ives, urging them to vote for the censure motion against Sen. McCarthy currently being debated in Washington.



The mask did not help Tilda Gonzales

TILDA GONZALES, 6, died 15 minutes after this picture was taken. Cause: carbon monoxide poisoning from a faulty gas hot water heater in a three-room apartment at 435 W. 46th St. With her died her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Edubirges Gonzales, three brothers and two sisters (the youngest 4 months and christened that day), and Mr. and Mrs. Domingo Matos, who had spent the night with them; they left three young sons. The city's inspection of gas appliances would have reached W. 46th St. in another two weeks, but all city agencies ducked responsibility. The landlord, who furnished neither heat nor hot water and had not repaired 11 other violations, said the tenant had installed the water heater and turned it up to heat the apartment on his own responsibility.

On the same day a similar heater exploded in Brooklyn, killing a young couple. In the last four years, 397 persons have died of gas poisoning in this city, 85 of them this year, the Health Dept. reported. The Harlem Tenant Council called on the district attorney to prosecute the 46th St. landlord for homicide. Citing the tens of thousands of gas water heaters and oil heating stoves in use throughout the city, they charged "basic neglect on the part of the city" for not forcing the landlord to give adequate service of heat and hot water.

HARRIMAN'S IN THE BACK SEAT

Democratic state machine leaders picked

By Elmer Bendiner

THE 12-year-old Dewey machine was ready to leave Albany. When the machine carrying Averell Harriman drives up to the executive mansion on January 1, Harriman is not expected to be in the driver's seat. The state is to pass into the hands of what the machine's drivers call a "broad political coalition."

The N.Y. **Times'** Leo Egan outlined that coalition as conceived by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., a member of Americans for Democratic Action and speech-writer for Adlai Stevenson. At the head of it is Tammany boss Carmine G. De Sapio; he will now direct the state's Democratic Party with prestige enormously enhanced by the victory of Harriman, whom he forced on a reluctant convention, and the defeat of Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., whom he rejected.

De Sapio responded to newsmen's congratulations modestly: "I'm not a big man. I'm just a rank-and-file Democrat. But I sure guessed right, didn't I?"

ALEX ROSE
No hat in hand

DINNER TIME: Next in command, according to Egan, is to be Alex Rose, vice-pres. of the Liberal Party and pres. of the AFL United Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers Union. Though Rose's hatters and David Dubinsky's Intl. Ladies Garment Workers went on record for Roosevelt Jr., both leaders worked behind the scenes before and during the Democratic state convention to swing it for Harriman. Taking Schlesinger's blue print, Rose is credited with engineering the coalition, persuading De Sapio and Lehman to back Harriman.

Prominent in the new machine are John P. McGrath, former Mayor Impellitteri's chief of staff, now reconciled to De Sapio; Richard Balch, Democratic State chairman; Sen. Lehman and George Backer, former publisher of the N.Y. **Post.** All of these deferred to De Sapio's judgment in picking Harriman.

On election night Harriman invited his machine to join him at dinner, broadening the coalition slightly to include James A. Farley and Charles Halloran, Buffalo fire commissioner and former AFL official, who was apparently offered a seat at the dinner table to make up for the snubbing he got at the convention. The AFL had urged him as the candidate for lt. governor but De Sapio turned him down.

O'DWYER'S TEARS: The new regime, which brings into camp Democrats from Farley to Rose and Dubinsky, shuts out the CIO as thoroughly as did Dewey, who also accepted selected AFL leaders where he could find them. The presence of Rose, Dubinsky and Halloran on the team promised little for labor beyond minor political favors so long as they co-operated with the smooth working of the machine, but would suffice to give Tammany a labor look in election years. Nobody had written any pro-labor commitments into Harriman's speeches; if there were any, they were state secrets.

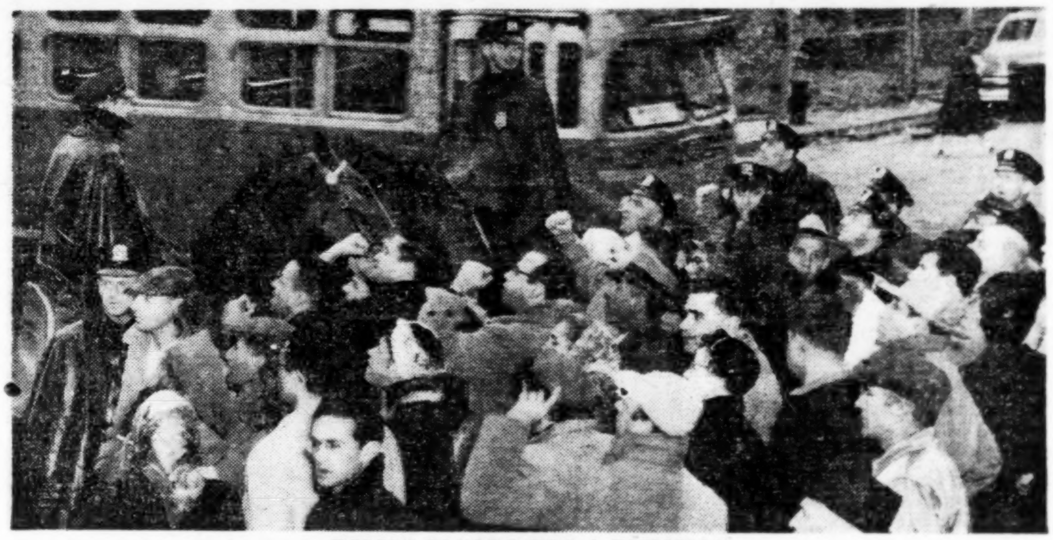
New York labor has rarely seemed more desperate for political leadership. On Nov. 1 AFL and CIO leaders were reduced to hailing ex-Mayor William O'Dwyer as a political hero. O'Dwyer visited the city briefly from his home in Mexico, where he fled under a cloud, protected by an ambassador's appointment, when his administration blew up in a series of scandals. AFL and CIO leaders, who unite on few things, joined in a testimonial banquet to O'Dwyer. CIO Transport Workers Union pres. Michael Quill and AFL Central Trades & Labor Council pres. Martin T. Lacey extolled O'Dwyer and gave him a scroll making him a lifelong member of CIO and AFL. O'Dwyer, brushing away tears, said: "Labor can be great, generous and noble. That's the message I'll bring back to fellow-workers in Mexico."

LONGSHOREMEN'S HOPES: There was little enthusiasm in labor circles after the votes were tallied. Though labor leaders had backed Harriman, the victory was slim and there was doubt as to what precisely had been won. Only Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. pres.

(Continued on Page 10)

THE RAZOR BLADE RUNAWAY IN BROOKLYN

50 police club pickets; plant moving out



POLICE ESCORT FOR A RUNAWAY
ASR strikers fought nightsticks to keep their jobs

ON THE morning after Election Day pickets of the United Electrical Workers Local 475 found an ambulance waiting for them at the Brooklyn plant gates of the American Safety Razor Co.

When the men and women had formed their line, as they had for weeks in protest against the company's runaway plans, some 50 police on horse and on foot charged them, swinging their clubs in one of the worst picket-line assaults in years. A middle-aged woman picket was knocked to the ground. A police officer ordered the pickets off the street. Business Agent Arnold Bernardini was hustled to jail on a disorderly conduct charge.

Fifteen minutes later huge trailer trucks drove up to the Jay St. gate and men began taking out machinery from the plant. The company had begun its flight from Brooklyn to Staunton, Va., lured by jim-crow and low wages, threatening to leave jobless 1,400 New Yorkers, many of them with ten years of service.

THE SIT-DOWN: For months the union had fought the move; last August it reached verbal agreement with the company under which the workers would get a 5c-an-hour wage raise, guaranteed pension and severance-pay rights and a promise that ASR would not move before May 1.

The union had also mobilized wide community support, winning pre-election expressions of sympathy from Congressmen and Congressional candidates in their fight against the runaway. In September the company abruptly declined to sign the contract unless the union abandoned all efforts to rally public opposition to the runaway plans. The union refused. For two weeks in October union members occupied the plant in a sit-down strike while the company sought injunctions to force the strikers out.

On Oct. 14 the strikers, their ranks still solid, left the plant to take up their stations on the picket line. Rank-and-filers from other unions joined them, often swelling the line to 1,000 or more.

MORE VIOLENCE: After the Nov. 3 attack, pickets left protests with Mayor Wagner, Police Commr. Adams and Brooklyn Borough Pres. Cashmore but won no official response anywhere. On Nov. 4 they reformed their lines at the plant. Police allowed the pickets to begin their march, then charged again, injuring some and arresting more, driving the pickets off the street. Seven pickets chained themselves to the factory building; police sawed them loose, then arrested them. One picket, Randolph Merritt, was injured by a blow on the head and left in an ambulance.

Total casualties in the picket-line battle at the ASR plant are: one man with head injuries treated at Cumberland Hospital, then released; one woman's face cut when her eyeglasses were shattered; another woman suffered a severely wrenched back; numerous other lesser injuries were reported but not treated at hospitals; four women and six men were arrested on disorderly conduct charges, released on bail pending a hearing Nov. 22-23.

VANISHING JOBS: On Nov. 8 public protests and the strikers' grim determination to keep their right to picket brought a concession from the police. Picket lines would be permitted, police officials said, but the gate must be cleared. That evening there were close to 1,000 singing, shouting pickets on the line. Hundreds marched again on the morning of Nov. 9. But police still guarded the huge trailer trucks drawn up at the plant—carting away ASR machinery and 1,400 jobs.

The issue was one affecting workers throughout the northeast where runaway plants threatened jobs in textile, garment, hat as well as electrical shops. A UE leaflet summed up the significance:

"Police paid by city tax money have been enlisted by the company to help them run away and repudiate their contract and cheat their workers out of pension and severance pay—city tax money used to smash picket lines, to destroy 1,400 jobs and move a $5 million payroll from the city!"

"SOVIETEERS": Local 475 called an after-work demonstration at City Hall for Wed., Nov. 10 (too late for the GUARDIAN's deadline.)

UE's national office took the issue to the nation with hopes it might stir the kind of labor solidarity, crossing all affiliation lines, shown in UE's Square D strike in Detroit. Moves were reported under way to put ASR on labor's unfair list. ASR, with headquarters at 315 Jay St., Brooklyn, makes Gem razors and blades, Treet, Blue Star, Silver Star, Personna and Pal Holloware blades, and Eveready brushes.

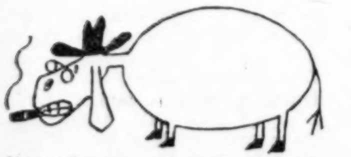
The company had its answer ready. As the first trucks arrived at Staunton, Va., ASR took a half-page ad in the Staunton **News-Leader** to reprint an article by Victor Riesel (himself on most unions' unfair list) describing the company as "generous," the unionists as "Sovieteers who deal in human misery."

State machine

(Continued from Page 9)

Wm. V. Bradley was exultant. He said that "not more than 20" of the city's 20,000 longshoremen had voted GOP, and that his union had thereby tipped the scales for Harriman. He added that the men had not voted either for Harriman or against Ives but against "Dewey's interference on the waterfront." He indicated the ILA will ask Harriman to investigate the waterfront commission promptly.

The waterfront regimentation scheme was engineered by Dewey but he had no opposition from the Democrats in Albany or City Hall. Both major parties steered clear of the issue during the campaign, giving the program a bi-partisan blessing. Samuel M. Lane, exec. director and counsel for the Waterfront Commission, commenting on Bradley's analysis of the election returns, said: "No one votes for a policeman—especially when he wants to be a law unto himself."



One puzzling statistic baffled those who looked for labor's hand in the elections. New York City, where labor influence and the Democratic machine are strong, normally comes close to balancing the upstate rural vote. This year the city total was 615,605 votes less than upstate—a gap few pollsters counted on. Some said it was due to the city's annual registration rule as contrasted to permanent registration in some upstate areas. Others saw in that gap a working-class vote of no confidence in the candidates.

THE ? IN THE CHAIR: From his Orange County farm Averell Harriman watched the election's aftermath and, with his plurality rising to a slim but sure 12,000, felt his toehold on the governor's chair more secure. He conferred with Democratic legislative leaders, said that if balked in his program by a GOP legislature he would take the issues "above the heads" of the Republicans to the people. On the program he remained as vague as he was throughout the campaign. He was for "stiffening" rent control but promised rollbacks of the 15% rent boost only to tenants of "unscrupulous landlords." On unemployment, he would send "teams" to critical areas and work with the communities involved.

He was for an "equitable" program of state aid to cities and an "orderly" completion of the Thruway. He promised to consult with Robert Moses, chairman of the State Power Authority, on "safeguarding" consumers in the St. Lawrence Seaway power project. He will take a "running start" with a draft of his program to be ready Jan. 1. The N.Y. **Times** summed up: "He gave no clues as to what it might contain."

ASP'S BIG DAY

Latin Festival Sunday, Nov. 28

AN ALL-DAY Latin American Festival designed to promote "greater understanding of our neighbors to the south" will be staged Sunday, Nov. 28, at Casa Galicia, 154 W. 64th St., by the N.Y. Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions.

The festival will include exhibits of Latin American handicrafts, prints, paintings and posters secured through Mexico's Taller Grafica and several Latin American consulates, and photos by the late well-known Cuban photographer Romulo LaChatanerre. **Mexican Busride,** first prize winner at the 1953 Cannes film festival, will be shown in the afternoon when a special children's program will include a puppet film by Ivan Bunin, a chorus from the Elizabeth Irwin High School with Hispanic folksongs, and games, songs and dances.

Following a Latin American dinner, a concert at 8 p.m. will feature violinist Max Hollander and Negro pianist Alan Booth. Actress Ruby Dee will present poetic readings including works of Pablo Neruda, and Mario Martinez will offer songs by Villalobos and others.

The festival will be accompanied by a bazaar of Latin American handicrafts, weaving, jewelry and pottery. Tickets ($2 for the day, $1.50 for the concert) are available at ASP, 35 W. 64th St., SU 7-4671.

Wasting everybody's time

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THANKSGIVING DANCE-A-ROUND Square, Folk and Social Dancing for all. Peoples Artists Caller and Entertainment. Fri. eve., Nov. 26, 8 p.m. Yugoslav-American Hall, 405 W. 11th St. Sub. 75c.

SCOTT NEARING COURSES: Tues., Nov. 16, 6:30 p.m. "The Social Crisis: Crumbling Walls"; 8:30-10 p.m. "World Events: Is European Union Possible?" Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd St. & 8th Av. Adm: $1.10. Auspices: Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10 St. OR 5-6939.

SUNDAY FORUM; "LESSONS OF THE '54 ELECTIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES," with Simon W. Gerson. Bring your questions. Voice your views. Jefferson School, 575 6 Av., Sun., Nov. 14, 8 p.m. promptly. Adm. $1.

People want to know — **"IS THE ALP ON THE BALLOT?"** Why is the ALP determined to continue on the political scene? Hear our state chairman, Peter K Hawley, Wed., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m. Greenwich Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av. Admission free.

FORUM AND EXHIBITION
ASP Art Division presents Robert Gwathmey, artist; Arnaud d'Usseau, playwright; Eugene Gordon, journalist in a discussion of "The Artist and McCarthyism." Thurs., Nov. 18, 8:30 p.m., 35 W. 64th St. Subs: 75c.

EXHIBITION OF GRAPHIC ART by ROSENHOUSE, continuing to Thurs., Dec. 2, at Peter Cooper Gallery, 313 W. 53d St. Gallery hours: weekdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

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NEW JERSEY VOTE

Medical-dental school plan blocked by Kenny and Church

WHILE politicians still struggled for votes in New Jersey last week, there was one clear loser beyond hope of a recount: public health.

The one statewide question before the voters was: Should the state be authorized to borrow $25 million to build a medical-dental school and health center? Officially both major parties, Gov. Meyner, most medical societies, the CIO, taxpayers' and veterans' groups all backed the measure. It was opposed by Hudson County's Democratic Party machine, headed by Jersey City's ex-Mayor John V. Kenny and powerful figures in the Roman Catholic Church.

Though the forces behind the school project were more numerous and powerful, they did little about it in the campaign. The public, ill-informed on referendum propositions, paid little attention to it in the excitement of the Senate race. The opposition campaigned in earnest. The City Commission of Jersey City, alone, spent $10,000 in an advertising campaign against the school. Though the final tally was not yet in at GUARDIAN press time, the unofficial score was: For the school, 553,314; against, 698,004.

HEALTH IS NO PLUM: Thanks in part to an old anti-vivisection law, New Jersey has no medical school. The state's medical students must find schools elsewhere; most of these set quotas for out-of-state students, and comparitively few return to practice in New Jersey.

The U. S. Public Health Service recently estimated that the nation will need 60,000 new doctors in the next ten years and produce only 20,000. The national shortage of 40,000 will be felt sharply in New Jersey.

The opposition had many elements. The Hudson County machine has a Medical Center in Jersey City which it is anxious to get rid of. Though its services are needed and its potential value great, to hardheaded politicians it is a drain on the budget and brings few patronage plums in return.

The Hudson County Democrats offered a deal to the school's backers: use the Jersey City buildings for the school or face machine opposition. Gov. Meyner declined the offer, favored a statewide survey for facilities and sites. Jersey City then made its deal with the Seton Hall University, a Roman Catholic school, to use the center's buildings for its own medical-dental school to open next year with 100 students.

JOHN V. KENNY
Gesundheit is out

PIGS IS PIGS: Jersey City's Mayor Bernard Berry, a power in the Kenny machine, stumped the state to defeat the school. In Hudson County itself the school was swamped by 92,833 votes. It won, by narrow margins, in only eight counties. After election, Meyner commented: "In some areas more stress was laid on defeating the school than on the candidates."

Hudson County stood out in the New Jersey returns for another reason: it gave 14,000 votes to Henry Krajewski, McCarthy rooter, pig farmer, proprietor of the Secaucus tavern called Tammany Hall and candidate for the Senate on the American Third Party ticket. Since Hudson County, held by the state's most potent Democratic machine, would be expected to go overwhelmingly for the Democrats' Charles R. Howell, Krajewski's 14,000 possibly cost Howell his election.

The GOP's Clifford P. Case, a target of McCarthy during the campaign, won by less than 3,000.

A couple of wins

NEW YORKERS scored modest victories with the triumph at the polls of the two propositions. Proposition No. 1, authorizing the state to issue $350 million worth of bonds for state mental hospitals, won easily 1,186,308 to 224,907. The proposition authorizing a $200 million bond issue for public housing won by a lesser margin; last available count showed 896,266 for it to 511,922 against. The Legislature had bucked considerable GOP opposition in putting it before the voters and it was opposed during the campaign by anti-public-housing interests.

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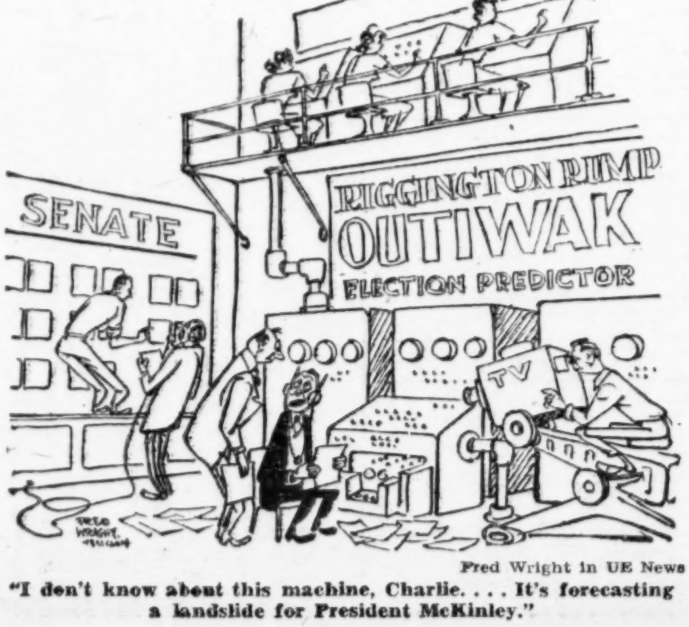

Fred Wright in UE News

"I don't know about this machine, Charlie. . . . It's forecasting a landslide for President McKinley."

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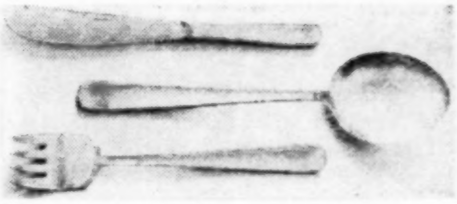

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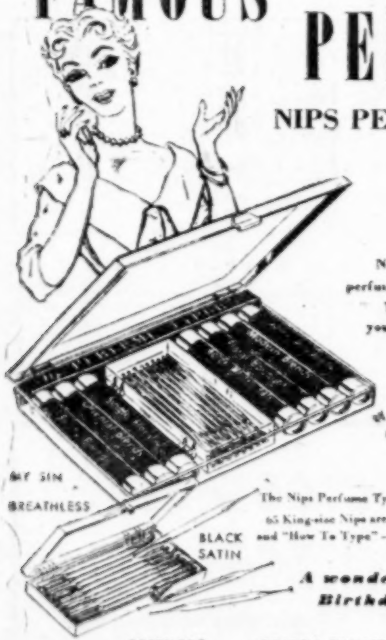

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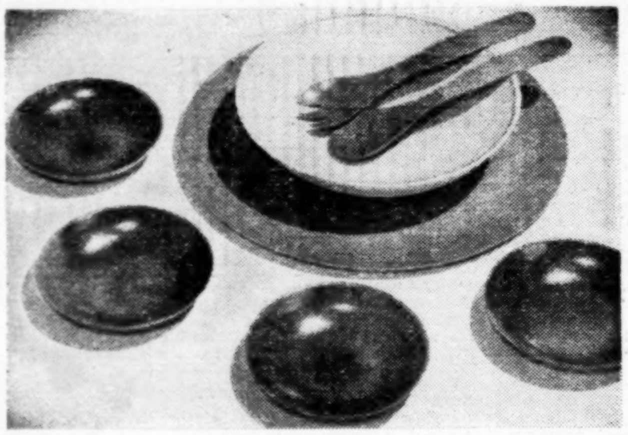
Flintwood California Servingware

★ **Winner, Good Design Award of the N. Y. Museum of Modern Art**

★ **Made of wood fibre and resin**



Here is a wonderful gift for a host or hostess. A new kind of woodenware . . . colorful, durable and smartly styled. Best of all, the process of combining wood fibre and resin eliminates many of the shortcomings of wood pieces. This set is break-resistant (it takes a really powerful smash to hurt it). It is unaffected by food acids or alcohol so you can use any kind of salad dressing without fear. The colors cannot wear off or chip away because they are an integral part of the material itself. As a gift this set will be well used and appreciated. Frankly, if you order this as a gift, we feel you will order an additional set for yourself as soon as you see it.

Comes in Avocado Green, Curry Yellow or Rust (choose one color only). Set consists of: 11" Salad Bowl; 15" Round Chop Plate; 4 6¼" small bowls; a Serving Fork and Spoon. **ppd. $8.95**

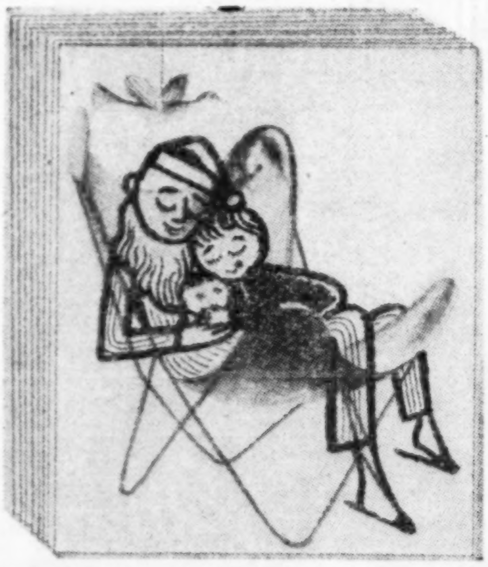
IRISH LINEN MEN'S HANDKERCHIEFS
17"x17"............doz. $5 ppd.

POLISH LINEN DISH TOWELS
18"x33" blue, red or green border........doz. $6.50 ppd.

Czech Linen Tablecloths

Blue Damask. Open-work Design.

52x52 4 Napkins ....ppd. $4.95
60x80 8 Napkins ....ppd. $8.95



1954-55 GUARDIAN HOLIDAY GREETING CARDS

In the past five years Guardian Holiday Greeting Cards have become a tradition. Each year we commission a group of highly talented commercial artists to draw a set of cards expressly for us. There are eight different designs in the set (one is depicted above); each with a peace or humane motif. We have reproduced them in four colors on white vellum stock. Standard four-color cards sell for 25c per card. Nowhere will you find cards better reflecting the true spirit of peace and good will.

SET OF EIGHT CARDS WITH ENVELOPES....postpaid $1